20c APRIL 13, 1953

STEVENSON IN HONG KONG

New Republic

WHITE DOVES FROM MOSCOW?

IS MALENKOV OFFERING PEACE?

By Morris L. Simon

CAN THE DICTATORSHIP MELLOW?

By Frank Gorrell

ELMER RICE on

ENTERTAINMENT IN THE AGE OF McCARTHY

Reviews by

ARTHUR MIZENER — *WILLARD THORP*

MERLE MILLER — *GERALD W. JOHNSON*

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Letters

The "Lost" Record

● This egghead sends his resounding thanks to you for making available again the out-of-print Senate subcommittee report on the sordid financial affairs of Senator McCarthy. I hope you sell a million copies. As for me I bought several copies and sent them to friends, and also requested Senators Lehman and Morse to read it into the *Congressional Record* so it could never be "lost" again.

Like Publisher Straight I have written to Attorney General Brownell—three times—urging action against the bore who made Wisconsin infamous. No answer.

Mt. Vernon, N. Y. ALLEN KLEIN

● I like your exposés of McCarthy. Your reprints are a good idea, but I might suggest they be blown up to tabloid size with two or three scare headlines. Then you might see that every voter in Wisconsin got a copy.

I was in Wisconsin before the primary and talked to the voters there. They seemed to think they were doing the nation and the world a big favor by returning McCarthy to office. Those things mentioned in your article this week were pointed out to them; they seemed to matter little in view of his supposed ferreting out of Communists in government, schools, and "wherever they might be found." They couldn't see how he could possibly be doing more harm than good.

Scare headlines are what they have been conditioned to. Perhaps McCarthyism would be less rampant if he got less play in the organs of mass communication, or if exposés of him got more play. Another thing that should be played up is the responsibility of the citizens of a state in electing men to office.

Neutrals like myself could not be accused of dirty politics by spreading the word contained in your articles. Perhaps I could list a hundred names to whom to send these reprints, but while I am a poor student it is no time to be contributing to worthy causes.

Greeley, Colo. SY SCHESTA

Is McCarthy Helping Russia?

● The really significant point about Senator McCarthy and his various attacks seems not yet to have come out into discussion. . . . The men and the government agencies that Senator McCarthy attacks most strongly are the very ones that the Communists and their co-workers hate most. Certainly comment against Secretary Acheson from Russia was vitriolic and continuous: yet here was a man who was repeatedly a McCarthy target. Lately the Voice of America, which the Russians fight as a real menace, has been the Senator's most conspicuous target. I need hardly multiply the cases . . . not even to drag in the fact of his attacking the college teachers, at whom Communists, in America and Russia alike, ever turn their objurgations of "bourgeois reactionaries." . . .

The Senator may not be getting the pay of a Soviet agent-provocateur but he is nobly doing the work of one.

Verona, N. J. STEPHEN G. RICH

McCarthy's Accuracy

● T. R. B. (March 16) credits McCarthy with unwonted accuracy. In his October 27 speech the latter actually referred to "Richard DeVoto," not to Bernard DeVoto. Considering the number of times that Mr. DeVoto's full name has appeared in print in the last quarter-century, the error hardly suggests any real knowledge of Mr. DeVoto's views on the part of the Senator.

New York, N. Y. ROBERT D. HOLRAN

Selling the NR

● In reference to your editorial announcement of March 16:

Since the *New Republic* is to become self-supporting and subscription sustained, may I offer a suggestion for your consideration with a view toward increasing both readership and reader-participation in your enterprise.

My own efforts in your behalf, *i.e.*, interesting friends in taking subscriptions, has given me the distinct impression that the problem of increasing circulation is primarily one of introduction of the *New Republic* to the attention of prospective readers rather than selling them on its merits and aims. The latter speak for and sell themselves.

Now suppose that you were to request editorially your readers' ideas on the subject, perhaps even paying a nominal fee of say, $2 or $5 for each concrete suggestion or plan that the *New Republic* staff may be able to utilize in the drive for support and increased readership.

This would, I think, serve two purposes: that of probably several inexpensive and workable ideas being provided and also affording a reflection of prevailing local conditions under which the magazine is sold, so that the circulation manager might have a key to the best methods to use in presenting *New Republic* in different and diverse parts of the nation.

I believe that you have a great asset in reader loyalty; the above suggestion is submitted solely in the interest of keeping the *New Republic* alive and

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Magnanimity

. . . the office of Gov. John Davis Lodge, a Republican, confirmed reports that the Eisenhower Administration had sought "clearance" early this year from the renomination of Mr. Bowles as Ambassador.

. . . Governor Lodge and state Republican leaders urged the National Administration not to rename Mr. Bowles and declined to give him "clearance."

"The Governor interposed no objection to the return of Mr. Bowles to Connecticut," an Administration leader said. – *From the New York* Times.

Into Full Fellowship

The award given [to Sheridan, Wyo.] by the American Public Relations Association, was for the betterment of human relations. Sheridan had done away with discrimination against Indians, its human-relations project having started with the election of Lucy Yellowmule as rodeo queen. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

How's That?

The "huge profits" so glibly deplored by politicians are completely foreign to big business and are to be found only in small business of the entrepreneur type. – *From the Oregon* Voter.

Doing What Comes Naturally

Reporters got their first chance to question Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson yesterday . . . as he returned from a nine-hour trip to the air materiel command center at . . . Dayton, Ohio. . . .

"Mr. Secretary," called one reporter, "have you any comment on the shooting down of the American and British planes?"

"No comment." . . .

"How about the ammunition situation?"

"No comment."

"What was the purpose of your trip (to Dayton)?"

"No comment."

. . . Mr. Wilson explained to the dismayed reporters why he didn't want to talk to them:

"That's the way I used to do it when I was in business," said the former General Motors president. – *From the New York* World Telegram.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE BEST information on Russia to which we have access boils down to this: It's too soon to say positively, but apparently Moscow policy has changed. Moscow has looked at its procedure coolly, found it doing just what it didn't want. Invasion of Korea rearmed the United States. Tactics in Europe heightened the West's unity and defense. So now Moscow tries a new tack. It is possible, of course, but unlikely, that Russia has suddenly mended its ways. Washington thinks goals haven't changed much, but procedure has. What are Moscow's goals? Above all to separate Germany and Japan from the West. In the great power struggle if Moscow has Berlin and Tokyo with it, it might command the globe. What is the West's objective? Principally, at present, to separate China from Russia? If this could be done the Communist threat would pretty well go out of Asia.

That's the basic thinking of the highest officials here. What to do in these circumstances? First, accept any alleviation in world tension because it reduces danger of an apocalyptic third world war. But also retain military strength and guard. Can we do the second? Ah, there's the rub! In a sense a "No" vote is already given by hard-boiled, cynical Wall Street (which has seen Congress rush twice to "bring the boys home"); it is selling stocks on a "peace scare" because it believes defense spending will be cut down heavily if Moscow gives politicians a chance. Summing up: Korean peace would be wonderful; but if the West disintegrates under reduced Moscow pressure, the new tactic could be more dangerous than anything before.

McCarthy had another fine week last week. On Monday, Foreign Aid Chief Stassen denounced McCarthy's self-proclaimed "negotiations" with Greek shippers as "undermining" Stassen's own efforts. On Wednesday, McCarthy and Dulles had a friendly lunch, issuing a guarded communique. Then on Thursday Ike, showing irritation at reporters, repudiated Stassen at his press conference. On Friday, Stassen—like a recanting Communist—eagerly announced that he had been wrong, McCarthy had not been undermining the government after all. So-o, everything was harmony again. Ike had taken McCarthy's side against Stassen. What this means is that Ike has made a new effort to keep McCarthy on the team, comparable to his support for McCarthy in the campaign and his ignoble elimination of paragraphs praising his old friend General Marshall—whom McCarthy had vituperated—in the Milwaukee speech, October 3. The comic relief was the discomposure of a lot of Ike's supporters who were triumphantly certain that at last the breach with McCarthy had come. With starry eyes, they had begun to turn on liberal critics to say, "See, we knew Our Man would make Honest Women of us!" Of course this didn't happen, and it was very, very funny if that sort of thing amuses you. A year ago the White House would have mowed "Jumping Joe" down. But that was under poor, weak Harry Truman.

For the first time in its 50-year existence politics was injected into the honored Federal Bureau of Standards when Commerce Secretary Weeks fired its internationally known head, Allen Astin, without recourse and without a hearing. Headstrong Weeks, the type of bustling GOP businessman who hates "bureaucrats," thinks that a mysterious patented powder composed of epsom salts and "trace elements" prolongs the life of lead storage batteries; the Bureau of Standards' tests indicated it doesn't and that it's a fake. That is a technical matter, but Weeks's procedure impugned the integrity of Astin, the integrity of the Bureau of Standards, and in effect,

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the integrity of the unpaid, five-man Board of Visitors of the Bureau to whom Dr. Astin proposed to submit the dispute.

These five men include the head of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, the president of the National Academy of Science, two Harvard physicists and one from Carnegie Tech. Like the forthright businessman he is, Weeks bypassed the bunch, fired Astin. It seemed like charliewilsonism at its worst.

The Congressional battle to amend the Taft-Hartley Act is taking a new and sinister turn. Ever since the Wagner Act put labor legislation on a federal basis, state legislatures have been blocked from extreme anti-union laws at variance with federal policy. The T-H law gives states only one specific exception to this —it allows them to go as far as they want against the union shop. Now the NAM, the US Chamber of Commerce, and other employers' groups are proposing a small amendment to T-H—it is to tell the courts that states have the right to pass as tough anti-union laws as they want on striking and picketing, and that these shall be controlling within the respective states. Courts have thrown out Wisconsin and Michigan anti-union laws, but these and others would be legalized. This is the old states'-rights argument whose force is always particularly attractive to Eisenhower and as well as to Taft and to Congress.

Notes: A year ago the Washington *Post* (March 24, '52) commented: "It is this newspaper's hope and belief that McCarthyism would disappear if Eisenhower were elected." . . . The Administration now unofficially admits it has abandoned hope of cutting the deficit for the current, 1953, fiscal year: it may go half a billion higher than the $6 billion budget Truman estimated. . . . Korean peace might bring an economic crisis; it would find the nation's economic GHQ practically demobilized, no staff at the Council of Economic Advisers, the Congressional Joint Committee not functioning.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

thriving with the assistance and encouragement of these readers.

Akron, Ohio MRS. J. A. CASTLE

AMA Plum

● As a Citizen For Stevenson I nevertheless cannot help but admire Ike for his excellent strategy (or do you call it "diplomacy"?) by offering the AMA the Assistant Secretaryship in the to be Department of Welfare. Your T.R.B. calls it a "juicy plum" and intimates that it was this gravy which helped Ike to sell the new department to the AMA. . . . To have the AMA be represented in the new department is not a "juicy plum," but a plain necessity; while it is consistent with Ike's policy to help his eight millionaires to help himself. The AMA representative could not possibly turn his profession against the American people, as the AMA has done since 1948.

I consider the AMA representation in the new department a blessing. Doctors can be awfully ignorant and now is their chance to learn the facts of life. . . .

Los Angeles, Calif. HANS A. ILLING

Political Letter-Writing

● Those of your readers who are actively concerned about promoting the principles of Adlai Stevenson might be interested in a letter-writing project devoted to this cause. Participants receive a bi-weekly "newsletter" suggesting a specific topic for letter-writing—usually to Congressmen, and often to a particular committee chairman. Thus we hope that enough people will be encouraged to write letters *at one time*, although independently, so that we can bring liberal sentiment to bear with some force on the powers-that-be. There is no charge for the newsletter, but participants are requested if possible to contribute 10 cents a month toward its production. To date, we have something over 100 members throughout the nation. Other people who are seriously interested in doing a job of political letter-writing on Stevenson's behalf are invited to join us.

(MRS.) DOROTHEA FULKERSON
1 Star Lane
Levittown, L. I., N. Y.

"Campaign to Discredit"

● Enclosed you will find another exhibit in the current newspaper campaign to discredit Senator Morse. This exhibit is by Frank R. Kent, whom I believe to be syndicated, and appeared in the Boston Sunday *Herald*.

It is edifying, to say the least, to learn of such a campaign on Thursday ("Wayne Morse: The Peril of Independence," *NR*, March 2) and then see such a blatant example of the campaign on the following Sunday morning.

Mr. Kent is in "good" company on the editorial page of the *Herald*. He shares "honors" with George Minot, whose handiwork, "Stevenson, Glib Talker, but No Leader," I also enclose, and Bill Cunningham, who takes his cues from the Pegler.

All in all, I would say that the "campaign to discredit" does not stop with the astute Senator from Oregon, but it includes all of any importance who think along liberal and progressive lines. . . .

Pogo and Drew Pearson are my sole reasons for reading the *Herald*.

Boston, Mass. RICHARD DAN MC GAHAN

Witch Hunts

● I enjoy reading the stimulating articles of the *New Republic*. I write in appreciation of the article, "Conformity versus Freedom" (*NR*, March 9). I, too, dread "the ugly gray mass of conformity" which threatens our nation through present Star Chamber procedure.

For years, though, certain of those within the "intellectual" class now pilloried have subjected many fine, scholarly people who believe in Jesus Christ as the incarnate God to the limbo of the intellectually unrespectable. Such people have been consigned to the realms of the naïve as though they hadn't an adult thought in their heads. To me, there is note of poetic justice in the present situation.

I hope that when this situation clears up that the "intellectuals" will not strive to drive all those who do not believe that "mind is the measure of all" into the "ugly gray mass of conformity" to intellectualism.

I assure that I do not write in the spirit of vindictiveness. All of us have much to fear in the present "witch hunt". Keep up the good work in the *New Republic*.

St. Paul, Minn. REV. JOHN P. WOODS

Too Erudite

● The *New Republic* has proved to be a great disappointment to me. The articles are wordy, repetitious and often too erudite for the average reader.

To whom do you want to appeal? To intellectuals or to the many thousands of men and women who would eagerly read the important facts you publish if they were presented simply and clearly? Why not come down from the lecture hall and mingle with the crowd?

New York, N. Y. EVELYN SCHLOSS

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New Republic

THE DYNAMITE IN AD-X2

IN RUSSIA, scientists have long since been forced to make their findings conform to the preconceptions of men who hold political power. That Soviet shadow fell across the United States last week when Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks forced the resignation of Dr. Allen V. Astin, Director of the National Bureau of Standards. The Secretary declared he had many reasons for ousting Dr. Astin, but the only one he would make public, at least for the time being, was that the Bureau's scientists, who have traditionally stayed aloof from politics, had repeatedly failed to report favorably upon AD-X2, a powder supposed to prolong the life of batteries.

During the 51-year history of the Bureau, it has jealously maintained a splendid reputation for scientific accuracy and objectivity. Its achievements have been of incalculable value to American industry and science. And during these 51 years it has never been involved in political controversy, nor have any of its directors been removed for political reasons. The manufacturer of AD-X2 succeeded in persuading the Secretary of Commerce to change all this. Weeks took the view that "the National Bureau of Standards has not been sufficiently objective, because they discount entirely the play of the market place." By this he revealed his ignorance of the Bureau's Congressionally authorized functions, which are essentially fact finding in the sciences. He seemed primarily concerned with its refusal to report favorably upon a product which enabled the businessman to make a heavy profit. The issue was clearly scientific objectivity versus "the play of the market place."

The National Bureau of Standards is the key physical sciences laboratory of the government. Its main functions are research and development in physics, mathematics, chemistry, and engineering. Testing is only one percent of its work, and it does this only as a service to other agencies of the government in accordance with law. The Bureau neither approves nor disapproves commercial products, and the fact that AD-X2 is known to have been tested grew out of the false assertion by the manufacturer that the Bureau had not examined it. AD-X2, like many other products with questionable claims, was brought to the Bureau for test by both the Federal Trade Commission and the Post Office in accord with their regulatory responsibilities. It was one of many types of "battery additives" that supposedly prolong the life of batteries. Several of these additives used a compound of sodium sulfate (Glauber's salt) and magnesium sulfate (epsom salts), both effective cathartics obtainable at any drugstore. Costing about five cents, they were offered for sale for several dollars. Over a period of 25 years, the Bureau tested about a hundred of these preparations for the Federal Trade Commission and found no evidence that they did any good.

In order to handle correspondence on the subject, the Bureau prepared a mimeographed leaflet in the '20's summarizing its findings on the materials used in additives. The composition proved to be the same as that of other additives except for "certain trace elements" supposed to act as catalytic agents. It showed no benefits. The findings were included in the Bureau's new pamphlet, Circular 504, published in 1951, although AD-X2 was not listed by name.

The manufacturer was unwilling to accept the findings of the Bureau. Armed with many testimonials, he came to Washington to seek the aid of members of Congress and of the Senate Small Business Committee.

The manufacturer introduced to the Senate Committee and the Bureau two consultants who agreed with him, Dr. Harold C. Weber of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Dr. Keith J. Laidler of Catholic University of America. Neither presented any evidence of adequate experiments. The Committee asked M.I.T. to run tests. These indicated some effect of the additive under artificial conditions with weak acid solutions and low voltages. But the claim, which the Bureau found to be false, was that AD-X2 would benefit batteries in normal usage. The batteries used in the M.I.T. test were not made for normal use. They would, for example, not start a car. Yet Dr. Laidler interpreted the M.I.T. findings in a manner highly favorable to AD-X2. On December 18, 1952, the Senate Small Business Committee authorized the release of Laidler's report and the conclusions of the M.I.T. tests but omitted at least one important and damning qualification—that the study had no relevance to normal battery operations.

Because of the Senate interest, the Bureau conducted further exhaustive tests in May and June, 1952, on 32 bus-type batteries. The manufacturer proposed the con-

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ditions of the test, and approved the batteries as being suitable for demonstrating the beneficial effect he claimed. Again the results were entirely negative. After the report of the Small Business Committee staff in December, the Bureau ran still another set of tests. The results, summarized in a report to the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, provided precise data of a conclusive nature contradicting some of the general, qualitative M.I.T. findings. Accordingly, after the Eisenhower Administration took office, the new Postmaster General, Arthur E. Summerfield, issued an order barring AD-X2 from the mails, on the basis of two sets of Bureau tests that the Post Office had requested.

Secretary Weeks challenged this action. Even before he took office, he had received many letters of protest; his company had used the additive in batteries, and he liked it. Weeks refused to see Dr. Astin, but asked his Assistant Secretary, Craig Shaeffer, to investigate the matter. At about the same time, Dr. Astin also asked for an investigation of the Bureau by the Visiting Committee of the Bureau, composed of five eminent scientists, or by the equally unimpeachable National Academy of Sciences.

Instead of authorizing an unbiased investigation, both Weeks and Shaeffer took up the cause of AD-X2. Secretary Weeks persuaded Postmaster General Summerfield to suspend the order banning it from the mails, and had Circular 504 withdrawn from sale. Assistant Secretary Shaeffer on March 24 called on Dr. Astin to resign. A week later, the Secretary appeared before the Senate Small Business Committee to explain Astin's dismissal and argue the case for AD-X2.

Until that moment the Director of the National Bureau of Standards had never been regarded as a political appointee. Dr. Astin is a career scientist of notably high standing who helped develop the proximity fuse during the war. He had been exacting in his efforts to prevent the intrusion of politics in anyway into Bureau matters. Ironically he has been a registered Republican for more than a decade, and his wife is well known as a vigorous party worker in Montgomery County, Maryland.

The reasons Secretary Weeks gave for backing the manufacturer of AD-X2 were equally novel. Paying little or no attention to the Bureau tests, he chose to accept the garbled interpretations of the M.I.T. tests, and the statements and testimonials furnished by the manufacturer. He laid great emphasis upon the lack of complaints from customers. In his mind these outbalanced the repeated Bureau tests. They outbalanced the interest of business firms as purchasers of questionable goods. They outbalanced the interest of business in its general good repute which Secretary Weeks' position will jeopardize. For Weeks stated:

> I cannot bring myself to believe that the people making AD-X2 have the intent to defraud—and without intent, I do not see how there can be fraud. . . .
>
> It can generally be said that there are no complaints but, on the contrary, many testimonials to the fact that the product is good and has saved the users money. As a practical man, I do not see why a product should be denied an opportunity in the market place.

So Weeks sets forth an entirely new concept in which scientific analysis by government is subordinated to commercial gain regardless of the genuineness of the product. He must know that "intent to defraud" is almost impossible to establish yet to emphasize his determination that this new concept shall prevail he told the Committee that he proposed to: "Get the best brains I can find to examine into the functions and objectives of the Bureau of Standards and re-evaluate them in relation to the American Business Community and other agencies of government."

To some scientists, this implies bringing in men who would prepare reports acceptable to the party in power and the interests which support it. One of the most prominent of the scientists asserted, "From now on I will not believe anything which comes from the National Bureau of Standards until I have determined in my own mind whether the Secretary of Commerce has any special interest that might have been served or influenced by the finding."

Almost without exception, scientists are determined that in this country the pressures of vested interests must not be allowed to ruin the government's scientific research. Dr. Astin well represented this position in a valedictory statement to the press:

> The Bureau has for many years enjoyed a reputation of fairness, thoroughness and accuracy in its scientific work, and I have strived to maintain and strengthen in every way these traditions. As a great scientific laboratory, the National Bureau of Standards is basically concerned with the soundness of its technical operations, and it must adhere to the results of scientific findings regardless of what pressures are brought on the organization to change or modify conclusions based directly on those findings.

Scientific objectivity has clashed head-on here with narrow politics and selfish interests. Unless the independence and integrity of scientific inquiry and judgment are reaffirmed, the result can be serious injury to the entire nation.

[*This guest editorial was contributed by Frank Freidel, Associate Professor of History at the University of Illinois and author of* Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship.]

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THE OFF-SHORE OIL BILL—A TRILLION-DOLLAR PRINCIPLE

The off-shore oil bill, already passed by the House and now before the Senate, is the first step in a plan which can deprive school children in 35 Eastern, Midwestern and Southern states of some $61 billion of potential royalties, a Public Affairs Institute study proves.

Many advocates of the off-shore oil bill intend the measure to establish the principle of states' rights so firmly that it will apply also to all minerals in the public domain. It's no small right. Coal and shale in the public domain, alone, have a potential value of $980 billion or nearly a trillion dollars. If the nation received the usual 62.5 percent of royalties, instead of surrendering its rights to the minerals, there would be over $61 billion to devote to education in 35 states.

Yet, many House members from those states which would stand to benefit have voted for the off-shore oil bill, and Senators from those states are rejecting the Anderson and Hill bills which would keep in lands in federal hands but would turn the off-shore oil royalties over to the states, on the basis of school-age population, for educational purposes.

Even the three coastal states which have taken the leadership in fighting for the off-shore oil bill will suffer if the bill is carried to its logical conclusion. Under the pending off-shore quit-claim plan, California, Texas and Louisiana stand to gain some $975 million in royalties. However, the forces they have set in motion can cost them $10.4 billion or a net loss of $9.4 billion.

Proposals to give to the public domain states minerals underlying all public lands—not merely off-shore lands—are already before Congress. Only a seven-to-five Senate subcommittee vote, with one of the authors abstaining from voting for his own proposal, prevented the whole grab being incorporated in the current tidelands bill.

The proponents of state rights to all public domain minerals decided to wait for the passage of the off-shore oil bill. With that principle established, they will introduce their proposal.

If they succeed, the 35 states will lose potential revenues in the amounts listed below.

How did your Representative and Senators vote?

THE OFF-SHORE OIL BILL — POSSIBLE COSTS BY STATES

STATES	PERCENT SCHOOL CHILDREN	LOSS ON HOLLAND BILL (MILLIONS)	LOSS ON INTERIOR FUELS (MILLIONS)	TOTAL LOSS
Alabama	2.52	$ 24.57	$ 1,937.25	$ 1,961,820,000
Arkansas	1.54	15.01	1,183.87	1,198,880,000
Connecticut	1.17	11.41	899.43	910,840,000
Delaware	.20	1.95	153.75	155,700,000
D. C.	.37	3.60	284.43	288,030,000
Florida	1.77	17.26	1,360.68	1,377,940,000
Georgia	2.66	25.93	2,044.87	2,070,800,000
Illinois	5.24	51.09	4,028.25	4,079,340,000
Indiana	2.61	25.45	2,006.43	2,031,880,000
Iowa	1.80	17.55	1,383.75	1,401,300,000
Kansas	1.26	12.28	968.62	980,900,000
Kentucky	2.13	20.77	1,637.43	1,658,200,000
Maine	.64	6.24	492.00	498,240,000
Maryland	1.47	14.33	1,130.00	1,144,330,000
Massachusetts	2.79	27.20	2,144.81	2,172,010,000
Michigan	4.36	42.51	3,351.75	3,394,260,000
Minnesota	2.05	19.99	1,575.93	1,595,920,000
Mississippi	1.80	17.55	1,383.75	1,401,300,000
Missouri	2.48	24.18	1,906.50	1,930,680,000
Nebraska	.89	8.67	684.18	692,850,000
New Hampshire	.35	3.41	269.06	272,470,000
New Jersey	2.77	27.00	2,129.43	2,156,430,000
New York	8.43	82.19	6,480.56	6,562,750,000
North Carolina	3.22	31.39	2,475.37	2,506,760,000
Ohio	5.04	49.14	3,874.50	3,923,640,000
Oklahoma	1.68	16.38	1,291.50	1,307,880,000
Oregon	1.00	9.75	768.75	778,500,000
Pennsylvania	6.79	66.20	5,219.81	5,286,010,000
Rhode Island	.45	4.38	345.93	350,310,000
South Carolina	1.77	17.26	1,360.68	1,377,940,000
Tennessee	2.44	23.79	1,875.75	1,899,540,000
Vermont	.27	2.63	207.56	210,190,000
Virginia	2.30	22.42	1,768.12	1,790,540,000
West Virginia	1.60	15.60	1,230.00	1,245,600,000
Wisconsin	2.33	22.72	1,791.18	1,813,900,000
Total	80.19%	$781.80	$61,645.88	$62,427,680,000

EVENTUAL LOSS TO THREE COASTAL STATES

	PERCENT SCHOOL CHILDREN	GAIN HOLLAND BILL ($975 MIL.)	LOSS MINERALS GIVE AWAY ($76,875 MIL.)	NET LOSS
California	6.33	$325,000,000	$ 4,866,100,000	$4,541,100,000
Louisiana	2.05	325,000,000	1,575,900,000	1,250,900,000
Texas	5.20	325,000,000	3,997,500,000	3,672,500,000
	13.58	$975,000,000	$10,439,500,000	$9,464,500,000

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LOYALTY IN PENNSYLVANIA

Late in 1951 Pennsylvania enacted a law requiring all public employees, including teachers, to swear to or affirm their loyalty to the United States. At that time George Wharton Pepper, who cannot be accused of radical bent, predicted two certain consequences: (1) "every Communist to whom the statute is intended to apply will unhesitatingly take the prescribed oath and proceed with his subversive activities just as before," and (2) "people who, like me . . . value the freedoms which Communism would destroy, will for that very reason refuse to take the oath lest its vague provisions be so construed as to limit their own liberty to think and act as free American citizens."

These predictions have come true. That fact is apparent from a thorough study of the statute and its operation which was recently published by Professor Clark Byse of the University of Pennsylvania Law School. He found that the only tangible effects of the first year's orgy of oath-taking were the discharge of eight individuals who refused, because of conscientious convictions, to take the oath and the resignation of another in protest.

Among the more intangible results of the program have been a feeling of resentment on the part of those thus singled out from all other citizens to forswear any subversive beliefs and the creation of "an atmosphere of suspicion which is neither healthy nor traditional in democratic societies." Yet there was absolutely nothing to counterbalance these evil effects; not a single disloyal person was discovered or discharged.

Why, then, should such a futile piece of legislation have been adopted? Professor Byes suggests three reasons: (1) a faulty estimate of the problem of subversion in government and the available means of meeting the evil; (2) the emotional desire "to enact a law" to demonstrate our hatred of Communism; and (3) the fear of legislators that voting against "loyalty" legislation will be misrepresented by their opponents.

INVASION OF PRIVACY

Evidence obtained by wire-tapping on the part of federal officers cannot now be introduced in any criminal trial in a federal court. Congress so provided, the Supreme Court has said, for it was thought "less important that some offenders should go unwhipped of justice than that officers should resort to methods deemed inconsistent with ethical standards and destructive of personal liberty." But reports indicate that the Department of Justice soon will ask Congress to carve out an exception so as to permit the use of wire-tapping evidence in espionage cases. The legal knights of the Eisenhower crusade, it seems, would compel the accused to testify against himself by introducing the record of conversations surreptitiously overheard. And they would permit federal law-enforcement officers to play "an ignoble part" in the gathering of evidence, to engage in practices which previous Republican Administrations made no attempt to defend, much less propose.

Wire-tapping has long been considered an unwarranted invasion of the right of privacy of the persons at both ends of the wire. As Justice Brandeis so eloquently pointed out a quarter of a century ago, the makers of the Constitution, in seeking "to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions and their sensations," clearly "conferred, as against the government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men."

STEVENSON IN HONG KONG AND FORMOSA

by Frank Robertson

ADLAI E. STEVENSON is having the problems and challenges of this complex section of the Far East presented to him at a rate that would confuse and confound most men. Yet one gathers that the Democratic leader is getting a clear picture and that he has the subject in sharp focus.

In Taipeh, the Formosan capital, Mr. Stevenson spent more time with President Chiang Kai-shek than has any other foreign visitor in recent years. There was a 42-minute conference with the 'Gimo on the morning of the American party's arrival on March 20; and after a farewell Chinese dinner at President Chiang's residence the next evening, the Nationalist leader drew Stevenson aside for approximately an hour and a half of earnest conversation.

In these conversations Chiang stressed the magnitude and immediacy of the threat of Communist China; as an Asian he places much more emphasis on Peking than on Moscow. He pointed out that the Chinese people today are more rigidly controlled than any other people in the world; and that the Peking leaders, with close to one-fifth of the world's population at their command, are committed to expansion by the tenets of Communist ideology.

The Nationalist leader, it is understood, put forward a case for military action against the Chinese mainland (which no one here believes is possible for a long time to come) and mentioned the need for more American aid in this respect. Although neither Stevenson nor his companions have divulged the contents of these two talks, except in brief outline, it may be supposed that the most important consideration of any attempt to invade South China was not emphasized—that weight of arms is a less decisive factor than the temper of the people there.

Undoubtedly many millions of Chinese feel oppressed by Communist rule (just as others give it enthusiastic support). But in spite of high taxation the peasants seem to be getting enough to eat. They remember the

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former regime with bitterness, having no opportunity to appreciate that the Nationalists have done some housecleaning. Why should they risk their lives to aid an invasion force that to them represents little change from what they now have? The way to overcome that reluctance, of course, is through meticulous political preparation. This has not yet been undertaken on any significant scale.

In Taipeh Stevenson had an hour-long talk with Gen. Sun Li-jen, commander-in-chief of the Nationalist land forces. General Sun—who is a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute—is a plain-spoken and realistic man, and an extremely able soldier. Unfortunately he does not enjoy the full confidence of President Chiang, for reasons too complex to explore here. The Chinese General no doubt gave Stevenson the military facts. Nationalist China today has 28 infantry divisions. Their morale is high and their training is fairly well advanced; but they are short on equipment in most categories, and what they do have is such a hodgepodge that it presents logistical problems.

It is estimated that only some 150,000 of these men could fight effectively at short notice. They are supported by 150 obsolete planes and a navy of 70 or 80 small vessels, mostly gunboats. There are less than a dozen landing craft capable of negotiating the Formosa Straits.

Stevenson did not meet Governor K. C. Wu, who has been spending a month in the mountains of Central Formosa for reasons of health following President Chiang's refusal to accept his resignation early in March. This latest attempt to resign stemmed from frustration caused by the clique politics that still are a feature of the Nationalist scene. Nor did Stevenson meet Lt.-Gen. Chiang Ching-kuo, elder son of the Generalissimo and a leading partisan in the clique struggles, who is considered most likely to succeed his father. Now 43, the younger Chiang's way of thought and method of action clearly are still influenced by the 12 years he spent in the Soviet Union, from the age of 16. Before returning to China he managed a machine factory in Leningrad.

While in Taipeh Stevenson watched routine troop exercise, conferred with Ambassador Earl L. Rankin, was briefed on the shaky condition of the island's economy by Mutual Security Administration officials, and spent four hours examining some of the operations of the Joint Commission for Rural Reconstruction, which is a shining example of Sino-American co-operation. And he sat through a crowded press conference at which, according to a member of his party, not one serious question was asked. Sample from one Chinese reporter: "Are you going to marry Margaret Truman?"

In Hong Kong the Stevenson party had the use of a luxurious seaside home overlooking Repulse Bay. Stevenson, who looked tired and worn when he arrived caught up on sleep missed during his hectic Japan, Korea and Formosa trips and turned his attention to Communist China, for which Hong Kong serves as a Western listening post.

Stevenson inspected the 17-mile border separating China and the British colony. While he watched China-bound passengers trudge from the British train to the Chinese train across the border, a uniformed Communist photographer, perhaps aware of his identity, snapped his picture.

Mr. Stevenson dined with the Governor and shook hands with 350 Americans who lined up to meet him at a reception at the American Club. The club premises in the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, known locally as simply the Bank, which has long symbolized the prosperity of this British trading port, today is overshadowed architecturally by the new Communist People's Bank of China next door.

But in the main Stevenson and his companions listened to a succession of diplomats, businessmen, political and military intelligence officers and newspapermen—American, British, French and Dutch—whose business it is to assess conditions in Communist China. These informants traced recent developments in China and the implications of that country's having acquired the status of a major political power. He was told that China's alliance with the Soviet Union is solidly based on mutuality of interests, and seems likely to stay that way.

Stevenson was told, too, that although there undoubtedly is considerable dissatisfaction among the people of China, central control is so tight that there no longer was any serious active resistance. There is very little guerrilla activity on the Chinese mainland today, Nationalist propaganda to the contrary.

Before his departure for Manila, Stevenson did not intimate what conclusion he had drawn from his brief but busy visits to Formosa and Hong Kong. But it may be guessed that he saw the need for a careful evaluation of the importance of Formosa to the United States and to the free world's fight against Communism, and the necessity of a strong policy based upon such an evaluation. He certainly heard the thesis expressed that if the United States eventually is to back a Nationalist invasion attempt, then many of the long-range economic projects on Formosa should be discontinued. Formosa, this argument goes, can be made into a strong base for future offensive action, or it can be built into an invulnerable bastion for strategic rather than tactical purposes, but the two roles, it is contended, are not economically compatible.

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WHITE DOVES FROM MOSCOW

I. MALENKOV'S DILEMMA

by Morris L. Simon

LIKE the "hate America" campaign that preceded it, the mushrooming of a Soviet peace drive has the West knee-deep in speculation. Many see in the peace maneuvers, following immediately upon the coming to power of Georgi Malenkov and associates, an attempt to assure transition of power. True as this observation is, it fails because it is too superficial an answer for so important a change in policy. It is not power that must be transferred but leadership. The Malenkov-led group have nicely distributed Stalin's power among themselves. That distribution may undergo rearrangement in the future, but it is not power that is today's problem for the Soviet rulers.

Georgi Malenkov has taken on the role of leader but the question is, can he lead? Leadership means having followers not only among the party hierarchy—an assurance of power—and the rank and file, but among the masses as well. He has moved to gain their allegiance by mass grants of amnesty for non-political crimes and by substantial reductions in the price of consumer goods. But above all else Malenkov and those with whom he shares power need the faith the masses of Russia had in Stalin. To create such faith requires time, and time in turn may require peace.

The intensity of the peace drive shows not only the urgency of Soviet action but also how far away the Soviet rulers think peace may be. To discover the wide gulf separating the USSR from peace we must go back to the vitriolic "hate America" campaign of 1950-1952. Despite the antithesis between the olive branch of 1953 and the sword of those years there is a logic in connecting the two up analytically. Necessary to make the connection clear are the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance of February, 1950, and its principal public revision of September, 1952, the Korean War and the death of Stalin.

A reading of the Soviet press of the "hate America" period reveals that the common theme of the whole campaign was the alleged atrocities of American troops fighting in Korea. The Soviet reader was told that we had used the dead bodies of Korean boys as targets for rifle practice, that we systematically exterminated the civilian population of North Korea, that we lined up Korean patriots by the hundreds and shot them. Obviously the trained experts of Agitprop were engaged in a serious mission. The endless comparisons of the American soldiers with the "Hitlerite criminals" were more than exercises in writing fiction. They were a deliberate and methodical plan to have the Soviet public view the alleged atrocities against a frame of reference filled with meaning for them. The Russian can well remember the Nazi. Was there any better way to conjure up hate? And why was it done?

At the time of the "hate America" campaign it was a commonly held belief that Stalin was preparing the Russians for an eventual war with the United States. Perhaps it would be more accurate and to the point to say that the Russians were being conditioned to the possible loss of Russian lives.

That the "hate America" campaign almost always involved Americans in Korea and not Americans in France or Americans in Germany is more significant than the obvious fact that Korea was ideal. Korea was and is the door through which the provisions of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of February, 1950, and its revision of September, 1952, might enter into force. By this treaty Communist China and the Soviet Union "undertake jointly to adopt all necessary measures at their disposal for the purpose of preventing the resumption of aggression and violation of peace on the part of Japan *or any other state that may collaborate with Japan directly or indirectly in acts of aggression.*" In the event of a war "the other Contracting Party shall immediately render military and other assistance by all means at its disposal." Even in February, 1950, it was possible to see the Treaty aimed against the United States, if not textually, then at least in intent. By November, 1950, when large numbers of Chinese Communist "volunteers" had entered the Korean War, the Treaty took on new meaning. And, in September, 1952, after the treaty was revised, the *People's Daily,* organ of the Chinese Communist Party, could write, "jointly to safeguard peace and security, the two powers of China and the Soviet Union cannot but check aggressive actions of the United States and Japan, *now working in collusion.*" If the publicized text of the treaty is "aimed" at the United States, who must be the target of the secret protocols? Is it too farfetched or unreasonable to see a secret protocol that calls for Russian

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action in the event that the United States bombs Chinese territory? Did Stalin promise Mao the use of Russian pilots and artillerymen as well as planes and guns? If so, was Stalin taking the calculated risk, as the United States had done, in the hope that his commitment of manpower might be kept small and the war "isolated?"

Whatever the commitment, Stalin knew that Russian lives would be lost, and lost far from their home towns. If a Stalin, Little Father to the Russians, knew it to be necessary in anticipation of the loss of Russian lives to prepare the masses with large and persistent doses of Agitprop brew, what must a Malenkov do in the same situation? In this question lies the explanation for the doves of peace flying in all directions from the Kremlin tower. The transition of power was accomplished smoothly and it is not to be doubted that Malenkov and his associates are in control, yet he is not the leader and is not yet trusted. It ought not to be inferred that Malenkov could not surmount a situation in which the Soviet Union was called upon to send troops into action, limited or full scale. Nor is it intended to show that the seeds of revolution lie but inches beneath the snows.

But it seems likely that the death of Stalin has put the Soviet rulers on the spot as regards Soviet Treaty commitments to the Chinese Communists. The mud in Korea will be hardening soon and it is not likely that the Soviets have forgotten that the new President of the United States said on his return from Korea that: ". . . we face an enemy whom we cannot hope to impress by words, however eloquent, but only by deeds—executed under circumstances of our own choosing. . . . "

The Soviet dilemma is real and critical, for its rulers may be forced to make the hardest decision early in their ruling life. If the American armies in Korea undertake an action which calls for Malenkov to act, what will Malenkov do? "Tell me Molotov," says Malenkov, "shall I say to Mao, 'I'm sorry, Comrade, I'm bowing out', then watch not only the Chinese alliance split but also strong signs of Titoism spring up in the people's democracies? Or shall I say to the Russian people, 'Comrades, we're in', and the body not yet cold?"

It may not be demotion that sent Molotov to the Foreign Ministry. In May, 1939, Molotov replaced Litvinov and Hitler knew Russia was "available" for a pact. This time the West, too, understands. The wily Churchill understood when he accepted the proposal of General Vassily I. Chuikov for a conference in Berlin on "avoiding regrettable air incidents." And the US and France wisely joined the talks when asked. Yet these moves are but opening gambits in a game whose rules we have yet to perceive. And we may well be left not with the question, "Does Russia really want peace?" but with two more difficult questions: "Have Russia's ultimate objectives changed?" and "Can the Free World adapt the strength so dearly purchased when Russia threatened, to meet the challenge of peace?"

II. A NEW POLITICAL POLICY?

In Russia too, it's time for a change. Western Europeans are beginning to believe that this is a fact and that it helps better than any other to explain Georgi Malenkov's attitude and conduct. There have been plenty of signs that the Russian people—and even more, the Chinese—have been as eager as the Americans for the end of hostilities in Korea. They have been increasingly afraid of war; and the passing of Stalin so soon after the advent of Eisenhower on the scene of world power caused the feeling that a change in direction had to be made now —or never. Without Stalin, the burden of the forced labor which is the Soviet equivalent of crushing taxes, and of the police-state repression which is the equivalent of controls, might have become intolerable.

We get the impression that in this part of the world the old debate between the advocates of containment on the one hand and of a liberationary roll-back of the satellites on the other hand has become an argument between those who want outside pressure exerted behind the Iron Curtain to hasten a crack-up, and those who believe that Malenkov has embarked on a species of New Political Policy which may turn out to be, in the perspective of history, the most dramatic reversal in Soviet orientation since Lenin's New Economic Policy.

In general, the mood in Western Europe is cautiously cheerful about the chances of relaxing the East-West tension in a manner likely to serve the long-term purposes of the West—with the emphasis rather more on optimism than on caution. The dominant psychological fact is that far more Western Europeans expect and want a Soviet loosening-up; and that fewer look for a toughening-up than for a crack-up.

The most interesting aspect of the Western European reaction is that the conservative elements—the moderates who are pro-US and though strongly anti-Communist, also anti-Fascist—are more eager than the Left for taking a chance at testing Malenkov's and Mao Tse-tung's presumed good will. The London *Times* says that the offers "must be seriously tested" because:

> An essential factor in winning the Cold War is that the free world shall not be maneuvered into appearing less desirous of peace than it really is. . . .

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The *Figaro* of Paris, the die-hard of extreme anti-Soviet newspapers, recognizes that Malenkov may be trying to slow up rearmament of the West, to compromise the final ratification of the European Defense Community, and to increase divergences between the US and Western Europe. It declares, however, that the Communist advances should not be rejected, provided that: "The Western governments know exactly how far they want to go, and accept the new risks without weakening the spirit of determination with which they faced the threats of the Cold War."

There is more hope for fruitful Washington-Moscow contacts than there has been at any time during the four years since the Jessup-Malik talks led, first, to the end of the Berlin blockade and, then, to the fiasco of the big-four foreign ministers meeting at the Pink Palace in Paris. The hope is not only for a better formula for co-existence with the Soviet world than grim Cold War. It is also for a better method of co-operation on our side in the free world on the central European issue of West German rearmament than bickering and bargaining about the European Defense Community.

Though the Russians have talked peace often enough, Malenkov's manner indicates that they might conceivably be less hypocritical now than in the past. No spokesman for the Kremlin in recent years has ever invoked "facts" in a way suggesting that they might be the same as those recognizable as such by heretical thinkers beyond the pale of Stalinoid Marxism. And the apparent willingness of the new US Administration to keep its ears and perhaps even its mind open has sent General Eisenhower's stock in Europe zooming steeply upward from the all-time low it reached during and after Secretary Dulles' "command tour" to the European hinterland.

So there is over here a mood based on what William James might have called a will to believe. There is also a serious effort to find out whether the facts Malenkov mentioned bear any real relationship to the ones that could give preliminary West-East talks more than a mere wish-fulfillment basis. The acid test is in the Franco-German controversy—the key now as always of Western European co-operation—in the willingness of Russia to stop playing off Paris and Bonn against each other.

The May-June Paris conference in 1949 was wrecked because the Russians refused to countenance any political status for the new Bonn Government, and also because the Americans balked at a compromise that might have put the smaller economic issues ahead of the enormous political decision of a formal and perhaps irrevocable split between West and East Germany. The serious difficulties which since 1950 have widened the West-East breach started when the US went a step further, taking the even more grave decision to come out in favor of a quick West German rearmament. Caught off guard, the French followed up a suggestion made by Winston Churchill by offering the plan for a European army, with German contingents. But it is an open secret that a large part of French public opinion was opposed, and that US insistence has more and more warped the seeds of any workable Western European co-operation.

The question now in Western Europe is not whether the West Germans will be rearmed but how and when. It is not surprising that Konrad Adenauer should see the Malenkov peace-through-facts line as nothing more than a tactical device to sabotage through delay the final ratification of EDC. Nor is it surprising that Winston Churchill should see in Malenkov's Moscow a chance for a rather different, but not less effective form of German rearmament within an Atlantic framework, acceptable both to the French and to the Russians.

What does the Old Warrior, the last of the great figures of the Roosevelt era, see? We don't know. But we do know what the Western Europeans, who look forward to a loosening-up in the Kremlin, *think* they see.

Fact or wish-fulfillment illusion, the first thing they see is that Russia is likely to be run in the immediate future —though perhaps not indefinitely—by an oligarchy—a team headed but not overwhelmed by Malenkov—rather than by a one-man, or even a three- or four-man, dictatorship. The second is that the heroic phase of Russian Communism may be followed by an operational phase. Instead of a god-like Vozd guiding a crusading, universalist, inspirationalist and necessarily aggressive creed, there will be legendless men, the Russian version of technocratic big businessmen, with some form of checks and balances likely to make for less zeal and more compromise. A third is that totalitarianism is likely to become less Moscow-centered, in breadth if not in depth. The system of an absolute, permanent fusion of the national parts of the Soviet world into a Muscovite monolith by means of force and fear, pressure and purges, may conceivably be replaced for a while by some form of tight, top-heavy alliance. China is almost certain to be more important than the satellites, and there is even the chance of varying degrees of slavishness among the satellites themselves—for example, Poland less, Rumania more.

Some of the men with whom we have talked believe that if any pressures are to be used against the Soviets, they should be nationalist, political and peripheral rather than universalist, psychological and in depth. But most of the men advise against even such pressure. They agree with the London *Times* that it would be wiser to wait for difficulties to mature by themselves.

The willingness to believe that Malenkov may be

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realistic enough to recognize the force of such facts is strongest in Great Britain. How could Churchill better crown his long life of service to the British Empire than by acting successfully as the honest broker between France and Germany, and even more important, between the US and Russia?

Some of our informants are convinced that the intermediacy did in fact begin immediately after Malenkov's "inaugural" address. British Ambassador Gascoigne's request for an interview with Foreign Minister Molotov was granted at once. His long talk in Moscow was quickly followed by an equally long one at the White House between Foreign Secretary Eden and General Eisenhower. The press conference at which Eisenhower spoke a conciliatory language (not unlike that used at the Foreign Office in London) took place the day General Chuikov expressed regret over the death of British airmen, and proposed "security" talks. The next day, Dulles speculated before a Senate committee about the possible mechanics of US-Russian contacts, and Molotov showed surprising interest in the liberation of British subjects held prisoner in North Korea since 1950. The toughening up of Eisenhower's attitude on the Bohlen appointment, and his shift of C. D. Jackson from the White House to the Psychological Strategy Board for a complete and "urgent" re-examination of strategy in the light of the new Malenkov line, also fit into the picture.

As for Konrad Adenauer's attitude, it is indicative that interest in the new Malenkov line is less noticeable in West Germany than in any other Western European country. This was true particularly in the government and among the supporters of the Christian Democratic Party.

Nevertheless, though Malenkov hurt Adenauer's bargaining power in Washington, the Chancellor's visit to the US was bound to be a greater success than Anthony Eden's or René Mayer's. One reason was that "the Grand Old Man of Christian Europe" was able to speak on behalf of his countrymen to the US Administration's big businessmen in a language they understand and approve —that of rising industrial production.

West Germany has produced thus far this year 18 percent more raw steel and 14 percent more rolled steel than in the comparable period last year. The annual rate of production has reached 18 million tons, as against 15.7 million last year. And this result was achieved despite works in many plants that are obsolete even by European standards, and despite a relatively low level of new investment.

Another reason was that the German prepared his trip more efficiently than the Englishman or Frenchman. He was able to take a leaf from the US book in doing so: the Germans of today, as well as of yesterday, are less reluctant than the English and French to use American methods. It has long been known that a New York public-relations company (Roy Bernard and Company) has been working for the West German Government, winning US friends and influencing Americans in key positions to believe in the existence and the reliability of a new, reformed and authentically peace-loving German people. The voice of this new Germany, speaking with a strong American accent, proclaimed Adenauer the heir to all that was good in the Germany of Goethe, Beethoven, Schiller and Schurz, and the gravedigger of all that was evil from Bismarck through the Junkers to Hitler's neo-Nazi successors. And the Bonn Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which paid the bill, considered the cost of this investment in US good will trivial (and much better spent) compared with that of the similarly motivated "conscience deal" with Israel.

The third and most important reason was that Chancellor Adenauer and General Eisenhower had something concrete to give each other. They also had enthusiastic eagerness to do the giving. Eisenhower went as far as he could to help the Christian Democratic Party win the forthcoming West German election. Adenauer plugged for ratification of the EDC. It was a fair exchange. The Chancellor is the chosen instrument of US policy not only in Germany but also in Western Europe. And the EDC is Germany's chosen instrument as the most direct and best means of restoring German power.

Yet, even as these facts were being confirmed in Washington, many Europeans were wondering whether, in US policy toward Western Europe and toward Germany's role in Europe, it wasn't also time for a change. The New York *Times* has reported from Bonn that Adenauer is "prepared to sign almost any kind of political and military agreements with the Western allies that would bring West Germany in the Western camp" because West German leaders "are confident that regardless of restrictions imposed on West Germany's sovereignty by such treaties, West Germany, as the leading industrial power in Western Europe, inevitably will take the lead."

The remilitarization of a West Germany that "inevitably" will dominate Europe is conditioned on the possibility, if not the probability, of Soviet aggression. If signs that Malenkov's Moscow is heading for self-containment can be dependably confirmed, won't there be a need for re-examination of a policy of turning over Europe to the control of a Germany which (despite the New York public-relations company) may still be more interested in Guderian than Goethe and in the music of power than in the power of music?

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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ENTERTAINMENT IN THE AGE OF McCARTHY

by Elmer Rice

IN 1932, DURING my first visit to the Soviet Union, I had a meeting with a bearded professor named Petroff, the head of VOKS (Society for Improving Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries). I told him I was greatly troubled by the Communist regime's disregard for civil liberties, particularly with respect to freedom of opinion and of expression. He asked me to explain, and I talked about the rigid censorship, the one-party press, the absence of free public discussion and debate, the enforced conformity of artists to whatever happened to be the momentary party line. In contrast, I said, expression in the United States was free and uninhibited. There was no censorship of books and plays; newspapers and periodicals presented every conceivable shade of political, religious and esthetic opinion; not only the heads of government, but the form of government itself were freely criticized; the Constitution guaranteed, and the courts defended, the right of any man to say or write what he pleased. Petroff listened attentively, and when I had finished, he sighed, shook his head and said: "Well, that is one of the luxuries of a stabilized society." I replied that I rather thought it was one of the necessities of a free society; but he merely shrugged, uncomprehendingly.

I revisited Moscow, in 1936, in the course of a trip around the world. This time, an appointment was arranged for me with a Commissar who was, in effect, the Minister of Fine Arts. (I have forgotten his name.) I had intended discussing general cultural problems with him, but the news that Shostakovich had been disciplined, for failing to write "Socialist" music, had just broken, and I was so incensed, that as soon as the formalities were over, I pitched right into my interlocutor and spent an hour denouncing the powers in the Kremlin for stifling artists and senselessly demanding adherence to political dogmas that had nothing to do with artistic creativeness. Again I pointed out that in the United States an artist was judged by the quality of his work, and that individuality and originality were generally regarded as virtues, not offenses.

On both occasions, I spoke with fervor and conviction, confident that I stood on firm ground, proud to be a citizen of a country that put freedom above all else, a country that recognized that political, spiritual, intellectual and cultural growth depends upon the unrestricted ventilation and interplay of ideas, theories and opinions, however absurd, distasteful or dangerous they may seem to any minority or, for that matter, to the majority.

Today I would feel far less sure of myself. For no objective observer can have failed to note, in the past 20 years, an accelerating deterioration in our standards of freedom, particularly freedom of expression and of opinion. The independent thinker has become suspect; most of those who still dare to mount the rostrum do so with trembling knees and an apologetic smile. The heretic or the rebel now rides into battle armed with an alibi. Every unpopular opinion or unconventional activity, every instrument of expression or communication must defend itself against a scrutiny that seems to be inspired by the Queen of Hearts' dictum: "Sentence first, verdict afterwards."

Since it is obviously impossible, within the limits of an article to deal with every phase of this vast subject, I shall confine my specifications to the area of theatrical representation: the theatre, the movies, radio-television (what is often euphemistically called the entertainment field).

The assaults upon freedom of expression are by no means directed solely against political utterances and political affiliations. That part of it is bad enough, but it is hardly half the story. Attempts at repression are made against almost any comment on sex, religion, professional behavior, personal habits and racial or national characteristics that happens not to find favor with some special-interest group. Blacklisting, secondary boycotting and threats of economic reprisal, all formerly regarded with abhorrence by most Americans, have become well-organized and standard techniques in the campaign against free speech.

How has this alarming situation come about? In large measure through the industrialization of the media of mass communication, and the concurrent development of the use of salesmanship and high-powered publicity methods by minority pressure groups. The theatre is relatively resistant to attack, mainly because it has avoided both governmental regulation and monopolistic ownership. But the motion-picture and the broadcasting industries, dominated as they are by a few large corporations, which in turn are effectively controlled by a handful of individuals, are morbidly susceptible to the influence of pressure groups. Further, motion pictures are subject to censorship, both official and self-imposed. There is no

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official censorship of the broadcasting industry, but it, too, operates under a self-regulatory "code"; what is even worse, its economic existence depends almost solely upon the favor of the big advertisers who buy air time. What this adds up to is that movie producers, broadcasters, advertisers and political censors are all sitting ducks for any group of buyers or voters, whose sensibilities are offended by what appears on the screen or comes over the air-waves.

Now for some concrete examples of how these pressures work. I have said that there is no official censorship of the theatre; nevertheless, extra-legal police action and abuse of the municipal licensing power often result in the suppression of plays. This is particularly true in cities that have predominantly Roman Catholic administrations or where the Roman Catholic community is numerous and influential. Boston is the worst offender. All plays produced there are subject to bowdlerization by semi-literate police officials. Many are banned entirely. Providence, R. I., recently refused to license *Tobacco Road* (which ran for seven years in New York, and toured the nation for at least 10). When the producer defied the ban and obtained a court injunction, he was promptly indicted for presenting an immoral exhibition. In Chicago, the police by threats of license revocation, barred Sartre's *The Respectful Prostitute.*

Furthermore, attempts to censor plays are constantly made by pressure groups, with varying degrees of success. In Peoria, the American Legion attempted to prevent the showing of Arthur Miller's celebrated *Death of a Salesman,* for the reason that the author was listed in *Red Channels.* The effort failed, but the public was so intimidated that almost no one came to see the play. In Pasadena the Legion campaigned, upon the same ground, against *Legend for Sarah,* a wholly non-political farce-comedy by James Gow and Arnaud D'Usseau. The Pasadena Community Playhouse—perhaps the best-established community theatre in the country—went through with the production, but yielding to pressure, omitted the names of the authors from the program (a shocking action, entirely without precedent). When *The Green Pastures* was revived recently, a Negro bishop demanded its withdrawal. Local units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have prevented performances of a musical version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Margaret Webster had to withdraw *The Merchant of Venice* from her projected repertory because of threats of Jewish campus groups to boycott the entire program.

Years ago, all Broadway was laughing at the attempts of the associated apple growers to censor a play in which a character detected traces of an arsenic spray on an apple he was eating. Today, such incidents seem less funny. Page one of the New York *Times,* for March 9, shows a photograph of members of the Hotel and Club Employees Union, picketing the Vanderbilt Theatre because *Midsummer,* which is playing there, contains an untidy chambermaid. In response to this demonstration, the play's program now contains this note: "The character Rosie is intended to bear no resemblance to actual hotel maids of the present day. The producers recognize the fact that the 7,000 maids who are members of the Hotel and Club Employees Union, Local 6, New York, are industrious and able." The same *Times* story tells of a protest by Thomas L. Sidlo, as chairman of the committee on public relations, of the American Bar Association, against "certain lines disparaging of lawyers or the legal profession" in Arthur Miller's current play, *The Crucible.* The lawyers whom the play disparages were participants in the Salem witch trials of 1692. (Mr. Sidlo had not seen the play.) The latest and, to date, most outrageous example of the influence of pressure groups is reported in the *Times* for March 26. Protests of veterans' groups, apparently incited by a New York columnist, have resulted in the cancellation of a performance of the current smash hit, *Wonderful Town,* because a block of 300 tickets—out of a total of 1,500—had been purchased by "an alleged left-wing group."

From my own experience, I offer an example of the devious ways in which pressure is used. In 1940, I wrote an anti-Nazi play called *Flight to the West.* The central character is a young Gentile woman married to a Jew. She is advised by a German refugee not to have children, for the reason that the Jews are a doomed race. The young wife, who is pregnant, is greatly disturbed and talks it over with her husband. They decide that, in spite of any risk, they want the child. Shortly after the opening of the play, I was visited by an emissary from St. Patrick's Cathedral. He said he was anxious to put the play (which he had not seen) on the Catholic White List, but he could not do so, unless I removed the reference to abortion. Somewhat bewildered, I replied that there was no reference to abortion. He said that was true, in a sense, but that since the young woman had had momentary misgivings about bearing the child, the thought of abortion must have been in her mind! He further volunteered to write a little speech (easy for the actress to learn, he said) in which she stated that she intended to have the child because it was the will of God. (In view of the scurrilous letters I received, because of my participation in the *Miracle* case, I want to make it clear that I am not hostile to the Roman Catholic religion or to the Roman Catholic Church, except in so far as the latter makes improper political use of its power.)

Bad as all this is, the motion-picture situation is far

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worse. It can be fairly said that because of the combined operations of official censorship boards and the "Hays Code," there has never been anything even approaching freedom in the making and exhibition of motion pictures. In support of this statement, I offer a somewhat detailed account of two incidents that have recently attracted nationwide attention.

The first is the *Miracle* case! This Italian-made picture was duly licensed in New York, after it had received numerous awards and had won acclaim in several Catholic countries. Immediately upon its presentation here it was attacked by the Catholic hierarchy (an action that brought protests from prominent Catholic laymen, including an editor of *Commonweal*). When the high-handed attempt of the New York City Commissioner of Licenses to close the theatre was defeated by court order, the Board of Regents was prevailed upon to revoke the license to exhibit, a procedure without precedent. Fortunately, the exhibitor of the picture, Joseph Burstyn was —for once!—a man who was not afraid to fight for his rights and for the constitutional right of his fellow citizens to see, hear and form their own judgment. Aided by the American Civil Liberties Union, he carried the case to the US Supreme Court, and there won a notable victory in the never-ending fight for freedom of expression. The court not only ruled unanimously that the New York statute forbidding "sacrilegious" exhibitions was unconstitutional, but reversed its own outdated exclusion of motion pictures from the protection of the First Amendment, holding indeed that the motion picture is an important medium of communication and therefore within the intention of the free speech guarantees of the Constitution. Yet this sweeping and unequivocal mandate has been almost entirely ignored. The censorship boards are doing business as usual and *The Miracle* has been denied the right of exhibition in Ohio and in Chicago. New cases are on their way to the Supreme Court, and it is to be hoped that further decisions will result in the abolition or the effective curtailment of the state censorship boards.

But when, if ever, will the pressure groups learn the fundamental principles of democracy? This brings me to my second instance. For two years or more, Jewish organizations prevented the exhibition of the film version of *Oliver Twist* in this country. None of those instrumental in its suppression had, at the time they launched their attack, seen the film. (I hope the reader is becoming aware of this recurrent theme.) They based their objections upon the reports of Albert Deutsch, an American columnist, who had seen the picture in England (where, incidentally, it had a long and successful run, uninterrupted by either protests or race riots). All efforts to persuade the objecting organizations to limit their action to criticism of the film and to withdraw their demands for suppression were useless. It was not until the *Miracle* case developed that the Jewish organization began to see the light. In a letter to me (which he has given me permission to quote) Mr. Deutsch says: "I could not honestly condemn a move to ban *The Miracle* and at the same time, endorse a move to ban *Oliver Twist*. Free speech involves inherent dangers, but the way to meet those dangers effectively is to strengthen our democracy—including the right of free speech—not to weaken it at any point." I could not have hoped to express it so well, myself!

Innumerable other instances of pressure-group censorship could be adduced. A few will suffice. Recently, the police commissioner of Providence refused to permit the re-issue of a Marlene Dietrich picture, *The Blue Angel*. He said he had not seen the picture (!) but that it had been condemned by the Legion of Decency, and that no picture found objectionable by that organization could be shown in Providence. Not long ago, *Variety* reported that a group of motion-picture exhibitors had asked the American Legion to supply it, for its guidance, with a list of pictures considered unsuitable for exhibition—not, it should be noted, because of the content of the films, but because of the alleged political activities of some of the participating artists. Currently, the American Legion has prevented, in many communities, the showing of Charles Chaplin's latest picture, *Limelight*.

Negro organizations have repeatedly tried to prevent the exhibition of *The Birth of a Nation*; and in Southern communities, believers in white supremacy have banned films presenting the Negro in a sympathetic light. Both Samuel Goldwyn and Robert E. Sherwood have told me that certain scenes portraying bankers, in the phenomenally successful picture, *The Best Years of Our Lives*, would not have passed muster if the picture had been made subsequent to the Hollywood investigations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

In spite of all the uproar about Communist infiltration of the motion-picture industry, the numerous investigations have uncovered no evidence of Communist propaganda. The nearest they came to it was a picture called *Mission to Moscow*, which was based upon a book by a millionaire ex-Ambassador and produced by those stalwart Americans, the Warner Brothers. There is no doubt that Communists and Communist sympathizers have found employment in the studios, and that some of them may have tried to take advantage of their position. But if they succeeded in getting any propaganda past their astute employers, it must have been very subtle indeed and hardly likely to have produced political disaffection in the movie-going public.

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The broadcasting industry, as I have said, is largely under the influence of the advertisers and the advertising agencies. Their notions of political propriety, both in program material and program personnel are—to put it mildly—on the conservative side. The radio listener and TV-observer can judge for himself the degree in which the air is saturated with pro-Communist doctrine.

There has been much public discussion of blacklisting. Its extent has been both exaggerated and minimized. The sober truth, based upon an objective examination of the available evidence, is that while the practice is not universal, it is sufficiently general to constitute a grave threat to freedom of expression, both in its denial of opportunity to outstanding creative personalities, and in its limitation of the public's right to see and to hear. Specific instances cannot readily be cited, for the blacklisted individual seldom knows that his name has been rejected. But comparative income figures tell the story of the decreasing employment of those who do not measure up to the most rigid standards of political orthodoxy. For example, I happen to know that, on several occasions, the works of a well-known American composer have been excluded from projected musical programs, because of his alleged political affiliations. The individual is often blacklisted not because he is guilty of anything, but because he is a "controversial figure." Thus an author or actor, who publicly clears himself of groundless charges, is often regarded as controversial and therefore proscribed.

But here again, censorship of political opinions is only part of the story. The Television Code, recently adopted by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, is an abject knuckling-down to the demands of all the influential pressure groups. I cannot analyze in detail this long catalogue of taboos, but here are a few examples. "Divorce is not treated casually nor justified as a solution for marital problems." Here we see the dogmas of minority religious groups prevailing over the fact that divorce is a legal remedy in every state of the Union, that millions of Americans have availed themselves of it without stigma, and that for countless people it is the only solution of marital problems. Here is another: "The consumption of liquor, in American life, when not required by the plot or for proper characterization, shall not be shown." Says who? Surely not the tens of millions of Americans to whom drinking is a normal and agreeable practice and who remember with horror the crime and corruption that resulted from the "noble experiment" of prohibition. (And note the qualification "in American life." Presumably it is all right to show dissolute foreigners avidly imbibing a Bloody Mary or a Mickey Finn.) And one more: "Racial or nationality types shall not be shown on television in such a manner as to ridicule the race or nationality." This is really something new in censorship! All my life, I have fought racial and religious discrimination, and advocated the right of anyone, regardless of color, creed or national origin, to citizenship, employment and equality before the law. But it never occurred to me that any group could be considered sacrosanct, and entitled to the special privilege of immunity from criticism, satire and ridicule. In fact, these have always been among the most effective weapons in the artist's armory. Ridicule is not only a healthy outlet for indignation; it is often a necessary corrective to stultifying pomposity and rigid, out-moded anti-social attitudes. Under the Code, Aristophanes, Swift and Voltaire would have a hard time finding employment in TV. No wonder it has become a rather bitter joke among writers that to play safe, you had better make your villain, a white, native-born Protestant, with no specified occupation or national origin.

It is often argued that the codes have been adopted as a deterrent to the greater evil of government censorship. That is wholly fallacious. The stage has no code, yet attempts to establish a censorship have been repeatedly defeated by the people of the theatre, backed by public opinion. Even when official censorship does exist, it can be attacked in the courts upon constitutional grounds, and, as the decision in the *Miracle* case demonstrates, can be weakened and eventually abolished. No such legal control can be exercised over the "self-regulatory" practices of private industry. Hence motion-picture codes have the effect of strangling freedom of expression to a degree that no political censor would dare attempt.

It all sounds rather hopeless; but it is not altogether hopeless. The remedy lies in the assertion by the American people of their constitutional right to speak, to see and to hear (even what may, by some, be considered evil). The entertainment industry is susceptible to pressure by the majority as well as by minorities. And members of minority groups can bring pressure to bear upon their own leaders to desist from attempts at suppression; for often those leaders speak only for themselves or for a small fraction of those they claim to represent. It is about time we stopped having the jitters about every breath of adverse doctrine or criticism; about time we recovered our courage and our sense of humor (maybe the two are not unrelated); about time we rediscovered the good, old American practice of free and unlimited discussion, and awoke to the fact that you do not effectively fight the other fellow's absolutism by setting up one of your own. I remember, during World War I, hearing a professor remark plaintively: "Must we choose between a world run by the Germans and a world run by the YMCA?" You can write your own paraphrase.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

AMONG THE SHABBY LUCIFERS

by Arthur Mizener

I DO NOT see how to avoid saying that Allen Tate is our finest literary intelligence, though remarks like this have about them what Mr. Tate himself calls "an edifying generality": they make their subject sound remote and inhuman and therefore—like Yeats' gods who desired the lovers' night enough to try to descend from their niches into the desecration of the natural life—perhaps a little forlorn (a word which we are told is very powerful in tolling us back from the world of denaturalized fancy to our sole selves). All we ought to mean by this "edifying generality" is that the demonstrated variety and order of Mr. Tate's awareness are greater than those of any other literary man in America. But if this is all we ought to mean, we have to mean all of it to describe Mr. Tate fairly.

Nothing could, however, be less fair to him than to make him sound remote and awful, for no one sees more clearly than he the danger of the kind of abstraction which, existing in isolation from nature, operates like honorific hyperbole, a device for creating false gods and imaginary ghosts. With its disastrous effect in creating "a multitudinous Public, shaped into personal unity by the magic of abstraction" (Mr. Tate is quoting Coleridge) he is concerned in the early essays in this volume; in the rest he is concerned with its effect in literature, where it takes a different form. Mr. Tate puts it this way:

> The symbolic imagination takes rise from a definite limitation of human rationality which was recognized in the West until the 17th century; in this view the intellect cannot have direct knowledge of essences. The only created mind that has this knowledge is the angelic mind. . . . I call that human imagination angelic which tries to disintegrate or to circumvent the image in the illusory pursuit of essence.

From this point Mr. Tate examines the triumph of Dante's symbolic imagination, the failure of our cousin Mr. Poe's angelic imagination, some contemporary writers (those walking examples of Poe's obsessive insight, who "languish . . . . in the pragmatic vortex where ideas are disembodied into power"), and, in essays on Dr. Johnson and Longinus, some of the consequences of this position for criticism in the narrow sense.

Strategically this constitutes an extremely effective angle of attack, the more impressive because it was not specially calculated for the purpose of a book: Mr. Tate has written these essays over several years but it is, like another, an angle of attack, and what Mr. Tate is doing is something better than critical maneuvering; he is deploying the whole human understanding, and a very full and quite beautifully disciplined one. This is evident in the detail, as for example, when one speaks of "the 'esemplastic power' of the Primary Imagination, a Teutonic angel inhabiting a Cartesian machine named Samuel Taylor Coleridge."

But its full value is clear only in the ordered complexity of a complete essay. The briefest example is the preface. It begins with an explanation of the book's title, which comes from Poe. This leads, by a characteristic ellipsis, to the question of "what would attract the attention of demons if they lost interest in us," and this, by another ellipsis, to the possibility that "perhaps every demon is sure that he is unique. Poe was certain all his life that he was not like anybody else." Mr. Tate then reminds us that, according to the saints, "the confident expectancy of damnation is a more insidious form of spiritual pride than certainty of salvation" and adds that of hell he supposes us to know at least that "it promptly *adjusts* and *integrates* its willing victims into a standardized monotony" like the mechanical rhythm which may replace in verse the rhythm of the heart, that iambic or trochaic rhythm "with occasional fibrillations and inverted T-waves to delight the ear and to remind us of the hour of our death." Mr. Tate then shifts—again only apparently at random—to a description of himself:

> Sometimes I think that life is a dream, and that what I am really doing is not what I do. I sit, in doubt between waking and sleeping, on the keel of a capsized boat, eating barnacles with my old friend Arthur Gordon Pym and pretending that the hull is a continent.

Then Mr. Tate remarks that, like all literary men, he is an eccentric who has "been conducting an unfinished education in public."

Impoverishing and clumsy as this summary is, I hope it will give the reader some of the feeling the original does, the feeling that he gets at the climax of a good poem, that he has sensed a whole system of meanings whose pattern he cannot quite grasp. In this state the reader will, I suppose, be teased by this partial grasp of the evidently precise relations between Poe, the demons, spiritual pride, a hell that sounds like the educational psychologist's paradise, the tell-tale heart, Mr. Tate's odd way of celebrating his long friendship with Arthur Gordon Pym, and his sudden dip into what only looks like autobiography.

Only the reader who is in this state is quite ready for the brilliant, explosive illumination of the conclusion:

> [The modern man of letters] thinks he hopes that he is not like anybody else. What he really hopes is that what made him an eccentric—a committed sin, a sin desired but resisted, the musty smell of his grandmother's house, one of William Empson's "missing dates," an *intermittence du coeur,* or something else quite ordinary—will not be detected by any-

THE FORLORN DEMON, *Didactic and Critical Essays,* by Allen Tate (Regnery: $3).

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body, even by his intimate friends. But it always is.

This is the forlorn demon, in his habit as he lives.

THE BROAD VIEW

THE WORLD AND THE WEST, by Arnold J. Toynbee (Oxford; $2).

TO PUT it in parliamentary language, Mr. Toynbee rises to a point of order in this slender volume. He is persuaded that the debate over Communism has drifted into the incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial, and he wishes to have it brought back to the real issue. When the British Broadcasting Corporation invited him to deliver the Reith Lectures he seized the opportunity to state his point, and has now elaborated the lectures into a small book.

It defends the familiar Toynbee thesis that the spiritual outweighs the material in determining the larger events in the course of history. It is endowed with the familiar Toynbee graces—a high degree of lucidity, touches of humor, and a sensitive appreciation of the rhythms of English prose that makes this historian the most charming writer extant among the practitioners of his craft. And it splits upon the familiar Toynbee failing, an over-subtlety of reasoning that escapes less finely adjusted minds and gives the effect of unreason.

The main thesis is defended with skill and power. Skirmishing may be going on in Korea and Indo-China, but the real battle is not for any geographical area, but for the control of men's minds. In that struggle the whole Red army is no more than a patrol feeling out the ground ahead of the real forces of Communism; and against these real forces the atom bomb is about as effective as a cap-pistol. Toynbee thinks that we have on our side forces quite capable of handling Communism's best, but he does not think that we are bringing them into action rapidly enough, preferring to rely on more obvious but far weaker physical forces. This part of his argument is not only perfectly comprehensible, it is also unanswerable.

But when he undertakes to set the current situation in its historical perspective he becomes difficult. He notes that in the sixteenth century the West went into the East with its entire culture, specifically with its technology and its creed inseparably linked. It was repulsed. So in the nineteenth century it returned with its technology alone and was tremendously successful until Communism came along, also with a technology and a creed linked together.

From this Toynbee argues that what he calls the trivial part of a culture is easily accepted, while the important part is repulsed. From that he goes into an intricate analogy involving the pathological effects of radiation, ignoring the observed fact that Communism's creed seems to have been accepted along with the "trivial" technology. He does not mention the simpler explanation, namely, the possibility that the East observed that Western technology worked and Western religion didn't, and sensibly accepted the sound as soon as it was disengaged from the unsound.

An uncomfortable inference follows —that the creed of Communism retains a driving power that the religion of the West has lost. Uncomfortable or not, it is a possibility that should be examined with candor, and Toynbee's failure to examine it vitiates to an appreciable degree the rest of his argument.

Factual accuracy is what holds a historian together and is not a legitimate subject of complaint, but Toynbee's accuracy in spelling does occasionally fret and fever us who are by comparison but semi-literate. Most of us instantly recognize Muslim as Moslem, but we have to think twice to realize that the Mughals are the Moguls and that 'Abd-al-Hamid is the old ogre of our youth, Abdul Hamid.

But this carping has but a feather's weight against the fact that this brochure—for it is hardly more—succeeds better than volumes of three times its mass in straightening out the thinking of an intelligent reader. Its sweep is magnificent, and in dealing with phenomena of colossal dimensions the broad view is always a closer approximation to truth than the narrow vision of men to whom history is a closed book.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

IN THE CLASSICAL MODE

COUNT D'ORGEL, by Raymond Radiguet, translated by Violet Schiff (Grove; $3).

THIS TRANSLATION has a very shaky grip on the semantics of the original, let alone the style. It begins by rendering "Les mouvements d'un coeur comme celui de la comtesse d'Orgel sont-ils surannés?" as "Do the emotions that stir the heart of a woman like Madame d'Orgel belong to the past?" and winds up with the Count standing (I see this before me with my very eyes) in the "lintel" of a door instead of its frame or *chambranle*. The translation in between is usually better but sometimes worse than that. It really should be reworked or replaced, because the original is important and has classed itself with *La Princesse de Clèves* and *Adolphe,* making an indissoluble triad in French literature and should be handled with greater care in export. However, the peculiar cold radiance of Radiguet, his "diamond" quality, does fight its way through, in the conduct of the story, the content, the frequency, the pace, and so on, even if the specific style and accent is lost, if what Cocteau would call his "démarche" or way of walking staggers considerably in this English.

Radiguet wrote this contemporary (1923) love story with both *La Princesse de Clèves* and *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* in mind, deliberately imposing a classical compression and lucidity on Proustian material. Besides this, he wanted to make an adventure story out of the psychology and use the virtues, not the vices, for shock. All of which is reduced to unity and a book of his own by his authentic and essentially poetic genius. One should insist that he was a poet, in one of the major French ways of being one, by raising rational lucidity to a high intensity. Vauvenargues, the prose moralist, whom Radiguet resembles quite closely, is in this way a lyric poet; so is la Rochefoucauld (speaking too of movements of the heart); so is Pascal; and indeed *La Princesse de Clèves* itself is less a novel than a poem. Radiguet belongs in that company. His sentences seem to have been conceived in alexandrines, in that specific tensility, pointed, balanced, and final, but then in mere

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graciousness allowed to come out in prose. He said he aimed at a negligent style as the height of elegance; and his prose is in fact the highest pitched poetry taking itself lightly. Radiguet died at twenty, and there is the emotional edge of that age under the only relatively loose style of the prose to keep it from ever going either soft or vulgar.

Here it is nearly thirty years since this book was written and I can find in it no sign of age. As a matter of content, there are a few props and circumstances that locate the novel as a work of the Twenties, but it has escaped being a period piece or a document, perfectly. The work is still contemporary, while having become a classic. Perhaps it has a few weaknesses: once in a while there are reminiscences of Cocteau's mythology or an observation will have an overtone of the sententious, but these faults, if they are faults, are no more than the static of Radiguet's poetic energy, which is his own and very great.

So great that I do not think any reader now can miss the force of it, in spite of this unfortunate translation which miraculously does. Even its non-conduction is imperfect. DONALD SUTHERLAND

BIOGRAPHICAL CRITICISM

THE SINGULAR PREFERENCE, by Peter Quennell (Viking; $3.75).

EVER SINCE the great British quarterlies and weeklies came into existence it has been the custom for their better-known reviewers to collect their better reviews, from time to time, in some sort of topical order, and put them inside the covers of a book, on which an eye-catching title is then stamped. Mr. Quennell's *The Singular Preference* is of this tradition. The essays gathered here were once reviews in the *New Statesman and Nation*, the *Times Literary Supplement*, and other journals. They range in subject from "English Devotional Verse" to "Civil Service: The Family of Sanson." (The Sansons were *Exécuteurs des Hautes oeuvres de la Cour de Paris*—that is, the official torturers and executioners of France.) The combinative title comes from Austen's *Pride and Prejudice:* "Do you prefer reading to cards?" said he; "that is rather singular."

Those who are willing to leave the bridge-table for an hour or two will not be disappointed in the miscellaneous reading Mr. Quennell has singled out for them. Most of these transposed reviews can stand alone in their new context. A few, to be sure, are perfunctory. Mr. Quennell has nothing new to say, for instance, about Defoe's *Moll Flanders*, of Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*. He occasionally flounders badly when the subject is too vast to permit him to get through it on the wordage which the editor originally allotted him—for example, "Chinese Poetry" *(tout court)*. But when his interest is really engaged or his preferences, usually for the eccentric or exotic, are touched, he takes pains to be illuminating.

As a reviewer, Mr. Quennell likes best the biographical part of criticism. Such subjects as Mrs. Thrale and Edward Lear were made to order for him. Since he has also a Stracheyan fondness for paradox and malice, he can be devasting when dealing with Coventry Patmore, the Victorian laureate of married love, or when knocking the stuffing out of Dickens' *Our Mutual Friend*.

His best essays are concerned with Kipling and H. G. Wells. He shrewdly traces Kipling's love for mystification and his passion for machinery to the schoolboy's code which Kipling all his life subscribed to, and his analysis of some of the later and strangely harrowing stories is acute. The essay on Wells is even better than the one on Kipling. Here, in particular, Mr. Quennell's preference for the biographical approach pays off. Wells' personality, seemingly so simple and forthright, was actually complex. Wells as a tragic figure has not before received, I believe, the systematic and penetrating study which Mr. Quennell here gives him. Devoted all his mature life to the belief that reason might eventually prevail in human affairs, Wells died with more than a premonition that there was to be no issue from chaos.

The first atom bomb descended a year before his death; but during the twelve months that remained he had little taste for prophesying. He had helped to build a new world on the ruins of the nineteenth century, to open up new prospects—perhaps deceptive—of order, toleration, progress. He saw the insecurity of its hopeful foundations, and died, as in the midst of an earthquake, with the stable and civilized universe rocking all around him.

WILLARD THORP

BEHIND THE WALLS

INSIDE, by Helen Bryan (Houghton, Mifflin; $3).

HELEN BRYAN spent ten weeks in the federal women's prison in Alderson, West Virginia. She was there because as executive secretary of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee she had three times refused to turn the organization's records over to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Her reasons for refusing may be morally defensible; legally, they are certainly questionable, and even though Miss Bryan is sincere, it is surely a dangerous oversimplification for her to write that she was sentenced ". . . because I was and am consistently anti-Franco" and that her committee's "great sin" was only that "it never swerved from its anti-Franco position and did all it could to influence others." The committee's activities were considerably more complex and a good deal less savory than that.

Actually, however, the importance of *Inside* has nothing to do with Miss Bryan's political background, past or present. Except for a fulsome and mawkish introduction by Henry J. Cadbury, "Ph. D.," and a random sentence here and there, Miss Bryan's book has nothing to do with the Cold War. Cadbury, after remarking that "this candid record" actually "requires no foreword" made the mistake of writing one. Miss Bryan or her publishers should have restrained him, by force if necessary.

On the other hand, Miss Bryan herself is neither sanctimonious nor sentimental. She is a reporter and a fine one. She tells, without emotion, malice, or rancor, what it was like for her to be cut off from the world in which she had been so active and, equally important, what prison meant to the girls and women, the theives and prostitutes and kidnappers who were companions in Alderson.

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Although they varied greatly, her fellow prisoners had in common poverty, a shaky sense of morals, and a lack of education. All of them had gone through sixth grade; a handful had gone on to high school, but only one or two had been graduated. Miss Bryan was the single college woman.

Like all women everywhere, they were interested in clothes, in gossip, and in sex. Most of them had boy friends or husbands either on the outside or in other prisons, and a number entered into homosexual relationships while in Alderson. Miss Bryan discusses that universal aspect of prison life with clinical frankness.

Mainly, however, they talked about and dreamed about the length of their terms. When a newcomer arrived, that was always the first question she was asked. "When I answered 'Three months'," Miss Bryan writes, "it was followed by an ominous pause, while the girl adjusted herself to my good fortune and weighed it against her longer term, and during the pause, an invisible barrier rose between us."

Eventually, however, she was always forgiven, partly because she is a good listener and because she possesses an understanding heart.

From Miss Bryan's account, Alderson appears to be a remarkably well-run prison. There were no sadists among its officials; they were, without exception, competent and often sympathetic. They worked the prisoners hard, but there was also opportunity for further education, and a significant number took advantage of it. There were racial barriers, but in quarantine, where each prisoner spent her first days, there was no segregation. After that, the races had separate and, as so rarely happens, honestly equal facilities. Moreover, the administration was experimenting in the field of race relations because in one dining room the Negro and white women ate together, although at different tables. All activities and classes were open to both groups.

So were the religious activities, and Miss Bryan states that, "In all my stay in Alderson, I met no girl who considered herself unchurched." The Catholic Church, through a parish priest from a nearby town, did an excellent job; however, none of the Protestant denominations seemed to have much interest in the prisoners. Miss Bryan, who is the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, believes they should, and in a few eloquent paragraphs outlines a program which, while its results would be "far from spectacular," might possibly help a few of the women who, a few months after their release, will almost certainly be returned to Alderson, this time for a longer stay.

Inside is a commendably unspectacular book; it is warmly and simply written, and in a dozen portraits of her fellow prisoners, Miss Bryan has got admirably close to a group of American women about whom up to now only fifth-rate fiction and tenth-rate movies have been written. MERLE MILLER

EASY DOES IT

ECONOMIC STABILITY IN A CHANGING WORLD, by John H. Williams (Oxford; $5).

AMONG the innumerable issues about which economists have found it possible to disagree, employment policies and programs of international trade assume a prominent place. Perfectly reputable scholars believe that variation in government spending can prevent depression, while not a few of their confreres are convinced that a free enterprise economy can stand but a limited amount of such governmental intervention. "Integration" of European economies conveys to a large group some of the same magic in international affairs that "free enterprise" still possesses in domestic affairs. To a minority, perhaps, integration appears only slightly less improbable than universal peace.

Generally speaking, Mr. Williams, a Harvard economist of wide reputation, can be found on the conservative side of these issues. As this collection of postwar essays proves, his is a conservatism born of temperament rather than prejudice. Because he is a scholar of scant emotion and considerable skepticism, the difficulties inseparable from any course of economic action present themselves to his mind much more strongly than do the chances of success bold policy may offer. And the lessons he imparts are caution, restraint, and moderation.

Space permits only two examples of the character of Mr. Williams' recommendations. "Integration" is to him no solution to the dollar shortage which has arisen from a combination of intractable circumstances, among them America's widening lead in productivity, the diminishing importance of imports to our standard of life, the narrowing of markets for European goods in other parts of the world as industrialization continues, and the barriers to east-west trade. Although American investment in other lands is a somewhat more hopeful solution, even here the obstacles are formidable. Other countries frequently view foreign investment with a suspicion based, far too accurately for our ease of mind, upon their experiences of 19th century imperialism. American investors for their part suffer from the timidity induced by foreign defaults during the 1930's, and, in any case, perceive more attractive opportunities at home.

Easy solutions are wrong and correct solutions difficult in domestic affairs as well. In several essays, probably too allusive for easy understanding by non-economists, Williams dissects Keynesian income theory and concludes that its claims are excessive, its analysis of consumption faulty, and its relevance limited. The moral is easy: we cannot be certain that government spending can by itself either prevent depression or terminate it quickly if preventive measures fail. We cannot neglect the forces which underlie economic progress and the incentives which drive the economic engine, as, Mr. Williams implies, some Keynesians have done in the false dawn of a new day in economic science.

It becomes increasingly apparent that Mr. Williams shares something of the "practical man's" dislike of all kinds of theory, despite his reluctant confession of a need to theorize. Much theory he regards as a rationalization of situations now past and he discovers in theorists a regrettable, if comprehensible, tendency to turn inwards upon the internal logic of their theories rather than outwards to the problems theory is designed to handle. This suspicion of

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theory leads him to emphasize short rather than long-run policies and the cautious rather than the imaginative in economic procedure. As much as most liberals, Mr. Williams desires freer intercourse among nations, more equitable distribution of income and greater economic progress. His natural skepticism of economic theory and human benevolence perhaps unduly magnifies the difficulties of achieving these aims. Nevertheless, in prose which is never less than grave and lucid and occasionally achieves elegance as well, Mr. Williams argues the powerful, if not completely convincing, case for limited and careful change in the economic affairs of nations.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

TWO ASIAN REPORTS

OUT OF RED CHINA, by Liu Shaw-tong (Duell, Sloan and Pearce — Little Brown; $4). ASIA AFLAME, by Ebed Van der Vlugt (Devin Adair; $6).

LIU SHAW-TONG was a worker-student in Peking when the Chinese Reds passed through. He joined a party task force and, within a year, earned a minor post in the Communist's Propaganda Ministry. Eventually satiated with incompetence, corruption, back-stabbing, and deception within the Red administration, he forged travel orders to Hong Kong, and journeyed thence to Formosa. It is an interesting narrative which gives a new and rather intimate insight into the workings of the new rising dynasty in China. But it could have been improved if the author had not invoked quite so much of his own disillusionment and had instead attempted a more rational analysis of what the Chinese Communists are actually accomplishing.

In his book *Asia Aflame,* Ebed Van der Vlugt presents a dramatic review of Communism's sweep through most of the mainland of Asia, and the tentacles which it nurtures in the outlying islands. As a British intelligence officer and an influential Netherlands lawyer and newspaperman, the author has traveled in many parts of the Orient, and has amassed more than a superficial knowledge of the struggle which goes on there. While his analysis of Asia is highly partisan in its nature, there are some useful though not necessarily original concepts of how to combat Communism—a Pacific Pact, a more applicable and practical aid program to non-Communist countries, and a greater appreciation and application of self-determination.

GORDON WALKER

INFORMAL SKETCHES

THE JEFFERSON READER, edited by Francis Coleman Rosenberger (Dutton; $5).

THIS BOOK is a pleasant addition to the growing list of books on the great Virginian. For those who have little time to plough through the vast literature on Jefferson that is now available, it furnishes a quick and easy guide to the many facets of Jefferson's life; his insatiable pursuit of learning, his great skills and contributions in so many arts and sciences, his role as an aristocrat in the evolution of democracy in the United States, above all his faith in the people.

The *Reader* gives us, too, the chance to see the man through the eyes of many of his contemporaries either at home or abroad. Most of the writings included are favorable, a few so saccharine as to be almost unreadable—some of the poetry really is incredible—and a few bitterly hostile. Few modern Americans will read Macaulay's "I cannot reckon Jefferson among the benefactors of mankind" without a sense of shock. Dixon Wector's essay "Thomas Jefferson, the Gentle Radical," is a provocative study that manages to paint a stimulating picture of Jefferson's political philosophy in a relatively few pages. Nicholas Biddle's "Eulogium" delivered in 1827, has a charming old-fashioned quality about it that adds rather than detracts from the keenness of his analysis of Jefferson's character and work.

The *Reader,* I think, suffers from a too meticulous selection of writings designed to fit into an over-all pattern of Jefferson's life. Thus a few exceedingly dull selections have been included, more, it would seem, because they fit into a mechanical outline than that they add anything of value to our knowledge of Jefferson. Abigail Adams' "A Dinner with Mr. Jefferson in Paris," for example, leaves one flat since there is virtually nothing about Jefferson in it. The section containing "The Opinions of Four Presidents" suffers from inclusion of Herbert Hoover's ingenuous portrayal of the Bill of Rights as a justification for Adam Smith economics, while the selection from FDR is filled with political clichés and has no particular claim to immortality.

But, aside from these minor matters, the *Reader* is stimulating and a worthwhile addition to Jeffersonian literature. The collection of portraits of Jefferson, bringing together for the first time fifteen life portraits in one book, is of particular value and interest.

ALEXANDER H. UHL

THE STRATEGIC HUB

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE WAR, by George Kirk (Oxford; $10).

THE LATEST VOLUME in the *Survey of International Affairs 1939-1946,* a series which offers an authoritative survey of the diplomatic, political and economic history of World War II under the editorship of Arnold Toynbee, deals with the Middle East. Since Napoleon's campaign in Egypt, the Middle East has been the strategic hub of the Old World and the cockpit of their diplomatic rivalries. It played a decisive role in the Second World War, commanding the crossroads of three continents. Until World War II, for more than 150 years, Britain had been in control of these vital lines of communication. Characteristically, the present volume, published under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, carries the motto from Kipling, "Lo, all our pomp of yesterday." Great Britain, the only power which fought the war against Hitler's Germany from the beginning to the end, without being forced into it, won the war, but she lost the commanding position which she had held in modern times in the Middle East.

The present volume covers the whole Middle East, from Iran and Afghanistan to Ethiopia and the former Italian colonies on the one hand and French Morocco on the other hand. Its author, George Kirk, is well known for his *A*

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Short History of the Middle East, which was published in this country in 1949 and which provides the best introduction to the historical background for an area rich in history and in problems. With the progress of time, these problems have become more intricate and more explosive, with native nationalism and oil, the State of Israel and Russian Communist propaganda adding new fuel. Mr. Kirk discusses the events with the well documented preciseness and the elegant detachment characteristic of the publications of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He does not hide his conviction that an agreement between Britain and Arab nationalism would have provided the best basis for stabilization of this much troubled vital area. Whether the reader shares this opinion or not, there can be no doubt that any student of the Middle East and of the implications of World War II will regard Mr. Kirk's volume as an indispensible reference book and as a guide through many perplexities.

HANS KOHN

TOO LITTLE FARMING

THE PASSION BY THE BROOK, by Truman Nelson (Doubleday; $3.95).

BROOK FARM, where Hawthorne discovered "that a man's soul may be buried and perish under a dung-heap . . . just as well as under a pile of money," is the subject of Truman Nelson's latest novel.

The second of a projected trilogy on the American cultural and religious rebirth of the 1840's and '50's, *Passion by the Brook*, is no tragedy ridden *Blithdale Romance*.

The story line is simple; the conventional triangle is set within the confines of Brook Farm. Edgar Grey, the husband, is, of course, the villain; to him Brook Farm "is a joint-stock company, a business." Lili, his wife, is *the* woman; when Adam Smith, "an odd stick, as strange as his name was commonplace," spots Lili, through a Fourierist telescope, stripped—"He knew that his eyes would no longer have to look at the horizon, or for the promise over distant hills."

Adam and Lili spend a good deal of their time trying to find a place to sleep together (Hawthorne's woods are too gloomy to serve; to be truthful, there's little passion by this pastoral stream). All these doings lead to the burning of the Phalanstery, which marks the beginning of the end for Brook Farm.

However, contrary to most historical novels, where the gusty hero or lusty heroine hold the center of the stage with history in the supporting cast, it is historical characters in this one who hold the reader's attention.

George Ripley, archon of the Farm, built Brook Farm in the image of his belief:

> It must be that life is kinder and finer where people are devoted to each other's good and where the constant struggle for the means of subsistence is made less urgent and exacting.

Nelson's Brook Farm is a pleasant place and some of the quality of Ripley, his friend Theodore Parker and the Farmers comes through. The same cannot be said of the fictional characters who actually have subsidiary roles although they are supposed to illustrate the failure "to strike the full chord."

Hawthorne sensed in the obsessions of the Farmers the end of Brook Farm. Nelson fails to exploit the conflicts which must have risen as the Farm changed from a voluntary association of transcendentalists to a Fourierist Phalanx.

For Lili and Adam the Phalanstery a promise of liberation; but, inadvertently, because he allows them to play a lesser part in the novel, Nelson reveals that he has been side tracked.

Historically, Van Wyck Brook's judgment holds; the members were divided into "groups" and "series" and something went out of the life of the farm: "Ceasing to be voluntary, it ceased to be poetic; and when disaster fell, the farm fell with it."

Nelson's writing is often awkward, sometimes stiff, but this lends some charm, especially in the conversations between Ripley and Parker. TOM BROOKS

COLLECTED POEMS, by Edwin Muir (Grove; $3.50).

The Editors wish to call attention to the American publication of this book, which was reviewed by Kathleen Raine in *NR*, July 21, 1952.

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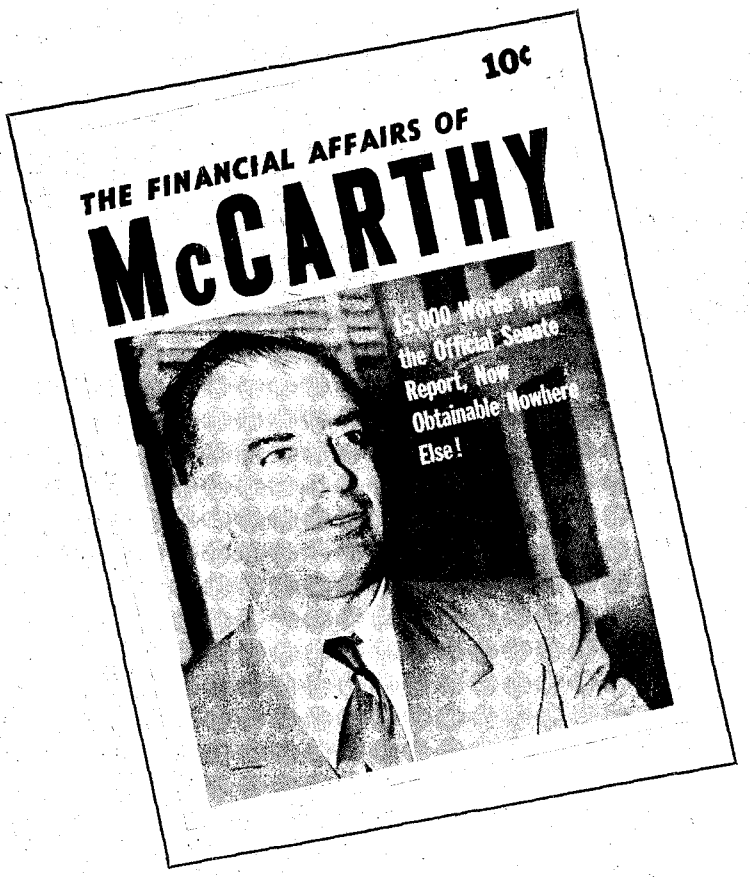

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